612 621 622 631

/20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 621

This striving is always directed primarily against the other group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

[634] The only related group in the adat community which occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community [527] territory. A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
556 distributed over the various houses.
612 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

[622]

2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

794 796 602 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong [622] head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" [634] was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[554] The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
654 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
557
602
583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[627]

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

● [622]

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

621 /125 cont./ by interesting a member of the high nobility in
● 622 the case. Their help is of importance because (although this
66 is not based upon the election regulation) sometimes they declare the ballot invalid, or else report afterward that only a test ballot had been held, in case the result did not agree with their wishes (1).

[648]

1. The 1927 regulation of the election of headmen is therefore not applied as was intended by the European administration which introduced it. Majority of votes is, according to Makassarese feelings, not sufficient in itself to capture the kapalaship. To this end, the consent of their own head is also required. This regulation, therefore, does not preclude arbitrary actions on the part of the higher people, but it does limit them.

622 The kapala can strengthen his position by establishing
662 a link with other kapala. The proved means of doing this is
634 to contract a marriage. But this action would immediately result in a power formation within the adat community, which the adat community head does not like to see. To an even greater degree this is the case if a kapala were to seek contact with a neighboring adat community head. Such an act would suggest a certain enmity toward the kapala's own /adat community/ head, for it is an immediate threat of defection from
177 his own head to the neighboring head. Insofar as is known,
634 the latter situation rarely occurred, because after 1905 these
648 defections were no longer left to the free interplay of

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

●622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

554 1. In this connection one
582 can remark that it is always
622 a man from the adat com-
634 munity head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

[626]

622 602 662 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 602 662 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

177 554 576 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 554 576 437 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 554 576 622 437 The head of the community concerned does not like to participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 554 576 626 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players. But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng

1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 627 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However, [577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the [626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[694 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
835] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali, guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

124 342 622 624 565

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

691 685

Now regarding the kampong itself: the name of the kampong is Bukaka and it is located in the wanua Tanette Riattang, which is under the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang. The Sulewatang Tanette Riattang lives in Watampone. He is different from the Aru Tanette Riattang, who has no wanua, but who is one of the central seven princes. The head of the kampong has the title Mado Bukaka. He is a fine fellow and seems like a better character than most of the bangsawan. His father and his father's father and so on back have headed the kampong for countless generations. He is not a noble, says the Sulewatang. The Sulewatang also says that his ramp is not "genuine". Council is held in neither kampong nor wanua. If there are legal proceedings in the kampong the Kepala kampong may call in a notable or two to help. If there is a legal case in the wanua, the Sulewatang Tanette Riattang will call in maybe three or four (never all) Kepala kampongs to help. If there is really a big legal case, it goes to the Hadat Tinggi in Watampone. There are fifteen Kepala kampongs in the wanua. In most of the kampongs there are several smaller kampongs (two, three, or more), somewhat like hamlets. The Sulewatang used the term lingkongan [circle]. 361 622 632 623 632 692 621 632

The next day we got down to the work involving a rough map and a ground plan. The kampong abuts on Watampone, indeed it is actually a continuation of it. Thus one side of the market street is Watampone and the other is the kampong. There are several stores on the kampong side. I asked if the Chinese there would say that they were living in the kampong. The answer was no, but that they would say they lived in Watampone. Thus it is a kind of false border. Also, the big, beautiful, new mosque of Watampone is within the kampong borders. But the kampong is evidently not too important and Watampone is in the same wanua, that is, in wanua Tanette Riattang. The kampong itself is the western-most of the kampongs in this wanua, and the western border goes along with the eastern border of wanua Palaka (kampong Tjabalu). On the north is wanua Awampone (kampong Tjelapa). On the east is another kampong, Ta, of wanua Tanette Riattang. And, of course, Watampone is to the south. As one enters the kampong of Bukaka coming from the main center of Watampone, one goes along the main street for four kilometers from south to north, from the Watampone border to Tjelapa. On entering Bukaka one sees the great mosque and the large house of an Arab, both structures being white and blue, an ironic combination. It is a great misfortune that Mohammedanism got in here. From the main road (the Kepala kampong's house is not far from the Watampone border) to 126 621 632 101 131 102

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imam of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. 368 [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaëng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaëng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaëng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e.,literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaëng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kamporg. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

C 563 Buludua which is on the side road from the main Watumpone-Makassarese highway. Later I talked with Thierens, and was astonished to have at last found the Toala. There is in the western part of Bone, on the border of Parepare and Barru, a wanua called Telu Limpoe, which is Sarasin's name for the three tribes of the Toala. They are under the Sulewatang of Telu Limpoe, a young and able lad. I must go by the poor road westward from the Watumpone-Sindjai highway, and then walk a distance. Remarkable, by checking Denzo's To Patuntung area with Thieren's Telu Limpoe area I find that they are just about the same. This is a puzzle. Are they Toala, or were they To Patuntung? If so, why no temples and stones and pinati and K. Lowe? My guess is that there are To Patuntung and To Patuntung. Those like the Toala were so remote and primitive that they lack even the Hinduist influence of the real To Patuntung. But one thing is clear. In the mountains here there must be any number of small groups of people like this. Exploration would find them and I could do it if I had the time. Now I begin to see why the Toala matter may well be just the lowest point on the scale of the non-Mohammedan remote peoples in the mountains of South Celebes.

M 793 692 622 In regard to the judicial system of Bone, Thierens explained a number of items. For questions of a religious nature, the first one to whom the people in the kampong go is the religious teacher, the guru. If nothing can be decided, the case goes to the imam of the wanua. If it is still no go, it goes to the Sjarat of Bone, on which are the various kali. If the case is still undecided, it goes to the Hadat Besar, a supreme court which handles both religious and other cases. As for civil and criminal cases, they start with the kepala kampong. If more than f.100 is involved, or the case cannot be decided (i.e., one of the parties is not satisfied), it then goes to the Hadat Ketjil, the court of the wanua, which has the kepala wanua and two of the kepala kampongs on it. If this is still ineffective, it goes to the Hadat Besar in Watumpone. And still further one can appeal to the resident of Celebes, or, and some do, to Batavia. The tradition is that any man can appeal cases. And in this one matter they are open and brave (berani). They will appeal. In fact, Thierens said that his office dealing with civil and criminal matters is deluged with letters and every one must be answered. Also he added that when he is in the office in Makassar he gets letters too, as a man with an appeal will send copies of a letter to the local office, the state

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/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Pëtta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja /beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice, white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther toward the north. When they finally left to return to their country, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.
• 622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

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/123 cont./ carries the villages," answers for them. Before the tribute came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe, it was first brought to a chief who bore the title of Ampoe lemba, literally "tribal chief," the equivalent of mayor of Wotoe. From him the people went to the Paramata, after that to the Matoa-bintoe'a, and then they came to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe. To the question which we posed repeatedly, whether the tribute that was left with the Matoa-bawa-lipoe actually reached the Datoe at Palopo, the answer was always: "We do not know that" (3).

3. There were also other Chiefs at Wotoe, whose function has not been clearly described. Thus there was the Topalatoea, a worthy of whom nothing was known but that he would have to die when a daughter was born to him. Another respected man was Palemba-ragi, a high chief of the Toradja tribes, recognized by Loewoe'.

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Exceptions to the above rule were the tribes of the To Lage and To Onda'e, who had to bring a slave to Loewoe' every nine years. The To Lage brought the slave to Lamoesa, whereupon Lamoesa accompanied the Lage envoys to Wotoe, where they paid their respects to the Chiefs named. The To Onda'e, however, needed no intermediary, but brought their slave directly to the Matoa-bawa-lipoe at Wotoe and from there to Palopo. This manner of bringing tribute (mepoee) is called monangoe boeadja, "to swim like a crocodile (straight to the goal)."

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The following tradition is connected with the mepoee of the To Onda'e. The To Onda'e had risen up against the Datoe. The war that resulted from this threatened to end with the downfall of the To Onda'e. Then an old man stood up and addressed the assembled Chiefs as follows: "Brothers, the only way by which